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BABYLONIA AS AN ASSYRIAN DEPENDENCY

BY A. T. OLMSTEAD

University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.

With the end of the dynasty of Nebuchadnezzar I,¹ Babylonia ceases to have an independent history. With the same change, the problem of Babylonia becomes the most serious that the Assyrian statesman has to meet. The first phase is where Babylonia is still admittedly independent, yet demands more and more Assyrian intervention to prevent internal wars or conquest by the invader. In the second phase, Assyria attempts to solve the problem by means of a personal union. With the failure of this attempt, a policy of despair results in the destruction of Babylon. The restoration of the city, the renewed rebellions, and the successful uprising of the Chaldaeans close the last phase of the Assyro-Babylonian relations.

The rise to power of the Fifth Dynasty did indeed coincide with a temporary decline in Assyrian power. However propitious the time might appear for a revival in the south, Babylonia was in no condition to take advantage of the opportunity. "During the uprisings and disturbances in Akkad," so a later king informs us, "the Sutu, evil foe, had overthrown Ebabbara," the temple of Shamash in Sippar. "They had destroyed the sculptured reliefs, his law was forgotten, his figure and his insignia had disappeared, and none beheld them."² No doubt this was typical of the conditions which prevailed in all the alluvium. Added to this series of attacks from outside were internal troubles, or rather, foreigners ruled the land with short reigns and in rapidly changing dynasties. First came a dynasty from the Sea Lands, those same swamps on the southeastern border which had already given one dynasty to Babylonia. Its founder, Simmash Shipak (1035-1017), the son of Erba Sin, was a priest³ and *ridu* official who claimed descent from Damiq ilishu of the earlier Sea Lands dynasty. Of him our royal informant reports

¹ Cf. Olmstead, *AJSL*, XXXVI, 120 ff.

² Nabu apal iddina ins., I, 1 ff.

³ List, Johns, *PSBA*, XL, 126.

"Simmash Shipak, King of Babylon, sought for the figure of Shamash, but he did not reveal himself to him, his image and his insignia he did not find. He erected an enclosure before Shamash and established his stated offerings." Aside from this, our knowledge is limited to the fact that he made the throne of the "lord of all" in the temple of Ekurigigal, that he was killed by the sword, and that he was buried in the palace of the ancient hero Sargon.¹ His place was taken by the usurper Ea mukin zer, a "son" of Hashmar, the eponymous ancestor of the Elamite tribe which later played so large a part in history. He ruled but three months² and was buried in the swamp of Bit Hashmar. The third and last monarch of the dynasty, Kashshu nadin ahe, represents a third family, that of Sippai. "During the distress and famine" of his reign, the stated offerings to the Shamash temple ceased and the drink offerings fell into disuse. Three years of this distress (1017-1014) were sufficient to kill him and cause his burial in the palace.³

The Sixth Dynasty came from Bit Bazi. Under its first representative, Eulmash shakin shum, a gleam of prosperity came to the Sippar temple with the re-establishment of offerings to the god,⁴ but the procession of Bel did not take place in the fifth and fourteenth years⁵ because of the disturbed state of the country. His fifteen-year reign (1014-999) was later remembered only for the prodigies and the cessation of worship they portended. In the religious chronicle in which these are collected, we read "In the month of Airu (May), on the eleventh day, the king arrived, and the young beasts for the going forth of Bel he slaughtered. The offerings and the vessels for the god, which up to the day of Akitu (The New Year's Feast) they had received, four days in Esagila and the temple of the gods as was fitting they offered. Until the day of the offerings, the king did not pour out a libation, the

¹ Nabu apal iddina ins., I, 13 ff.; *Chron. A*, G. Smith, *TSBA*, III, 371 ff.; Winckler, *Untersuch.*, p. 153; *KB*, II, 272 ff.; *King, Chron.*, II, 46 ff.; 143 ff.; Toffteen, *Chronology*, 44 ff. New Chronicle, *King, Chron.*, II., 57 ff.; 147 ff. Document of year XII, Smith, *TSBA*, I, 65. The King list gives him eighteen years.

² Five months, King list.

³ Nabu apal iddina ins., I, 24 ff.; *Chron.*, *A*, where a written total of twenty-three years instead of the expected total of twenty years, three months, is due to reading months as years. The King list gives twenty-one years, five months, for the dynasty.

⁴ Nabu apal iddina ins., I, 29 ff.

⁵ *King, Chron.*, II, 61 f.

urigallu priest poured the libation and administered the temple." In other words, the king was not in his place to perform his tasks at the appointed time, and it was necessary for the local official to act as his substitute.¹ "In the month Duuzu (July), on the west bank, a jackal couched and they slew him. In the next month, Abu, a dog did something in the gate of Ninib, in the doorway of E shag utu of the Physicians, and they caught him. In the month Tishritu (October), on the twenty-fifth day, a live leopard crossed the river and entered into the treasury of the temple E gishpa kalama. They slew him and took him up and carried him away. In the month Abu, the sixteenth day of the seventh year, two deer entered Babylon and they slew them. In the month Simanu (June), the twenty-sixth day of the seventh year, the day turned to night, and fire was seen in the midst of the heavens." It has been suggested that this is a solar eclipse and then the fire would be that around the corona, but the chronology would seem to prohibit this assumption. "In the month Ululu (September), the eleventh year, the water came within the encircling wall of the Lower Wall. In the thirteenth year, the fourteenth year, the fifteenth year, the three years after the floods, the chariot of Bel did not go forth from the third day of Adaru (March) to Nisanu (April). In Nisanu of the fifteenth year Bel went not forth. In Airu, the fifteenth day of the seventeenth year, at the outer wall of the Gate of Ninib, a wild beast lay in wait and they caught him. In Simanu, the fifteenth day of the seventeenth year, a lion went down from the Gate of Ishtar to the river, it entered Babylon, and on the left bank it killed two men." The scribe mentioned these facts because he considered them an evil portent; we give them because they speak of neglected shrines and of lapse of cultivation so great that wild beasts dared enter the very precincts of the city which were most inhabited. When the doors of one of the gates fell and killed a man, the fortifications can hardly have been in shape to repulse the enemy.²

As in the preceding dynasty, the first ruler was the only one to reign for any length of time. His successors, Ninib kudur usur

¹ Note how the *urigallu* is substitute for the king in Nabunaid-Cyrus Chron., II, 8.

² Religious Chronicle, King, *Chron.*, II, 70 ff. Eulmash shakin shum appears on a kudurru of Marduk nadin ahe, dated in his twelfth year, Sayce, *PSBA*, XIX, 70 f.

(999-997) and Shil anum Shuqamuna, who like him are simply given as sons of Bazi, reigned but two years and three months respectively.¹ The Seventh Dynasty of the chronologers consisted of but a single king, Mar biti apal usur, the Elamite (997-991)²

The Eighth Dynasty began with Nabu mukin apal, whose thirty-six years (991-965) did much to restore the land to prosperity, so much so that he added to "King of Babylon" the more pretentious "King of Kishshati."³ Yet there continued alarms from gods and men alike, from the raiding Aramaeans and from prodigies. "In Airu, a jackal couched and they slew him. In Airu, a deer, whose entrance into the city none had seen, they perceived in the Gate of My Lord, and they slew him. In Nisanu of the seventh year, the Aramaeans were hostile, so that the king did not go to Babylon and Nabu did not go out. In the month Nisanu of the eighth year of Nabu mukin apal, the king, the Aramaeans were hostile and they seized the Ferry Gate of the city of Kar bel matati, so that the king could not cross and neither Nabu nor Bel went forth. On the eve of the New Year's Feast, the offering was made according to the word of" somebody whose name has been lost. "In Nisanu of year nineteen of Nabu mukin apal, the king, the same thing occurred and the stated offering was made. In the month Duuzu of the sixteenth year, a lion whose entrance into the city none had seen, they perceived on the west bank in the eighth garden, and they slew him. In the twentieth year of Nabu mukin apal, the king, Bel went not forth, Nabu did not go, for nine years after in all, Bel went not forth and Nabu went not out. In the twenty-fourth year of Nabu mukin apal, the king, the favoring deity who is at the right side of the door of one of the shrines, they captured as he couched. A malignant deity of Nabu was seen in the sleeping chamber of Nabu, upon the statue of Nabu, in the midst of the flesh. In the month Shabatu (February), the twenty-first day, of the twenty-sixth year of Nabu mukin apal, the king, Adad thundered and evil flame was seen."⁴

¹ *Chron. A*, though the written total is twenty years, three months, which, curiously enough, is what we need for the previous dynasty. The King list gives for them seventeen years, three years, and three months.

² King, *Chron.*, II, 55, n. 2; 62, n. 2.

³ Kudurru, Belser, *BA*, II, 171 ff.; Peiser, *KB*, IV, 82 ff.; King, *Boundary Stones*, LXVII ff.; 51 ff.

⁴ King, *Chron.*, II, 80 ff.

Nabu mukin apal was followed by two of his sons, a second Ninib kudur usur with perhaps twelve years (955-943) and Mar biti ahe iddina.¹ Shamash mudammīq was defeated by Adad nirari III of Assyria, and was then killed by Nabu shum ishkun who, however, likewise met defeat at Assyrian hands. His cities of Banbala and Bagdadu were plundered, complete alliance was enforced, and each married the daughter of the other.² Before Nabu shum ishkun I had ended his reign of at least thirteen years, he had suffered another passing raid from Tukulti Ninib.³ Then he handed on his throne to his son Nabu apal iddina.

Nabu apal iddina is one of the best known rulers of the period, largely, though not entirely, because of the beautiful tablet to the sun god which we have more than once found occasion to quote.⁴ He boasts himself the valiant hero, well fitted to rule, the bearer of a terrible bow, who overthrows the evil foe, the Sutu, whose sin was great, and the great lord Marduk granted him a righteous scepter to avenge Akkad, make habitable the cities, found shrines, sculpture

¹ They appear as king's sons in the charter of Nabu mukin apal; the second is brother of the first in the list, Weidner, *MVAG*, XX, 4, 4; cf. Lehmann-Haupt, *Klio*, XVI, 180; King, *Chron.*, II, 63, places Mar biti ahe iddina before Shamash mudammīq.

² Budge-King, *Annals*, I, lviii, give . . .] banbala and Khuda[du as the cities taken. The first is Banbala, cf. *JAOS*, XXXVIII, 233, n. 53. Delitzsch, *Paradies*, 206, already saw that the second must be Bagdadu, the ancestor of the modern Baghdad, but scholars generally have been as reluctant to accept this identification as they were of the so-called Ilat with Anat-Ana, cf. *JAOS*, XXXVIII, 241, note. The statement that Baghdad was founded by al Mansūr, cf. Le Strange, *Baghdad under the Abbasid Caliphate*, *passim*, is no argument against the identification, for a Bagdath occurs in the Talmud, cf. Neubauer, *Géog. du Talmud*, 360. Its earlier name seems to have been Eshsheb, Delitzsch, *loc. cit.*, and it is to this earlier city that we are to attribute the Hammurapi fragment discovered by Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, 407 f. This was found at Gerara, four miles south of the modern city, and we have accordingly the usual phenomenon of an earlier site later removed a few miles. The name Bagdadu first appears in a boundary stone of Merodach-baladan I (1186-1173), *Del.* VI, pl. 9 f.; also in a Kashshite kudurru, *ibid.*, p. 46.; and in the Michaux Stone, I R, 70, of the Fifth Dynasty. The last was found at Baghdad, yet Hommel, *Grundriss*, 252 ff., actually argues that Bagdadu is to be abandoned in favor of Hudadu and in this he has been followed by American scholars! An enormous drain and an embankment built with bricks bearing the name of the second Nebuchadnezzar is agreed to be *in situ*, Layard, *loc. cit.*; Rawlinson, *JRAS*, OS, XX, 477, n. 1; Banks, *Bismya*, 71 f. The headquarters of Nabopolassar, at the break-up of Assyria, were also at Bagdadu, Thompson, *Late Babylonian Letters*, 248.

³ For details, cf. Olmstead, *JAOS*, XXXVIII, 212 ff.; in the new Babylonian Chronicle, King, *Chron.*, 64, Tiglath [Pileser should be corrected to Tukulti (Ninib, as is tacitly done by King, *Babylon*, 159, n. 3. The Nabu shum ukin is, however, an error of the scribe for Nabu shum ishkun.

⁴ V R, 60 f.; Pinches-Budge, *PSBA*, VI, 179 ff.; Pinches, *TSBA*, VIII, 164 ff.; Jeremias, *BA*, I, 268 ff.; Peiser, *KB*, III, 1, 174 ff.; Bruce, in Harper, *Literature*, 30 ff.; King, *Boundary Stones*, XCVIII ff.; 120 ff.; *First Steps*, pp. 29 ff.; *Babylon*, op. p. 260; Rassam, *Asshur*, op. p. 402; Rogers, *Parallels*, 509; *Hist.*, II, op. p. 193.

reliefs, preserve the statutes and ordinances, re-establish the stated offerings, and increase the free-will offerings. Likewise Shamash, who for many days had been angry and had averted his neck, now had mercy and turned his countenance. All this, and the history of the previous reigns as well, was but to introduce the greatest sign of the sun god's favor, the discovery on the west bank of the Euphrates of the clay model representing the deity, by the priest of Sippar and of the royal manner in which he was repaid. Otherwise, we know only of his war with Ashur nasir apal of Assyria.¹

One of the first actions of Shalmaneser III after his accession was the striking of a treaty with Nabu apal iddina. Although euphemistically called a treaty of complete alliance, it in reality marked the subjugation of Babylonia to Assyrian control, and this subordination became perfectly evident when Shalmaneser marched south and in Babylon and Borsippa offered the sacrifices to Marduk and Nabu which only the suzerain of those cities might present.² In due time, Nabu apal iddina "stood upon his mountain" and his place was filled by the Assyrian nominee, Marduk zakir shum. The anti-Assyrian forces rallied around his younger brother, Marduk bel usate, who seized the upper half of Akkad, thus cutting off Marduk zakir shum from his overlord. Shalmaneser was only too glad to rescue his subordinate. At Zaban, still the frontier, he sacrificed to Adad, and then marched south against Daban, the capital of the rebel.³ The first resistance was met at Me Turnat, the "waters" of the Turnat River, on the north bank of that stream.⁴ After the reduction of the city, a second battle was contested before Gananate.⁵ Victory declared for Shalmaneser, who shut up his opponent in the city, destroyed his crops, cut down his orchards,

¹ For details, cf. Olmstead, *JAOS*, XXXVIII, 240 ff.

² *Synchr. Hist.*, III, 22; *MDOG*, XXVIII, 24 f.

³ *Synchr. Hist.*, III, 29. Peiser-Winckler read . . . -da-ban, but Daban is proved by Shamshi Adad, *Ann.*, IV, 41. Note how the common origin of the *Synchr. Hist.* and the official inscriptions is proved by the phrases *itishu ibbalkit*, *malmalish izuzu*, *ana niraruti*, common to both.

⁴ Location proved by fact that it was not crossed on this expedition, as well as by Shamshi Adad, *Ann.*, IV, 9, cf. Billerbeck, *Suleimania*, 50. It was probably just north of the Hamrin Hills.

⁵ Also in *Assyr. Chron.*, 771, 767; perhaps the Ganata of the Babylonian letter H. 468; located somewhere about the modern Delli 'Abbās, cf. Billerbeck, *Suleimania*, 58.

and dammed up his canal. Gananate remained inviolate, and the campaign came to an end with the task but half completed.

To avoid the heats of the Babylonian summer, the advance was renewed in the beginning of the next April. Lahiru was stormed, and Marduk bel usate driven from Gananate "like a fox from his hole."¹ The fugitive hastened along the road to Elam, but in the mouth of the pass, at Arman, the modern Holwan, he was overtaken and put to death as a rebel.²

Freed from the rivalry of his brother, whom the official lists credited with a year's reign,³ Marduk zakir shum had still to reckon with Shalmaneser who was in no haste to surrender the advantages he had won. As the acknowledged suzerain of Babylon, he sacrificed to Nergal of Kutu in his temple Ekur, then filled Babylon with his gifts and pure offerings to Marduk, and finally appeared in Borsippa where even more gracious treatment was accorded Nabu and his consort, their temple Ezida, and their inhabitants, who were banqueted, richly clothed, and presented with wondrous gifts. Having thus won over the priestly class and having learned that the gods looked graciously upon him and had heard his prayers, he determined to clear south Babylonia from the pest of Aramaean tribes which was bringing the land to ruin. The first to feel his heavy hand was the powerful Dakkuru tribe. Like their descendants in modern times, these wanderers possessed little mud castles where they deposited their scanty wealth in times of danger. Baqani was the first fort to be attacked, and with it went the flocks and herds which it protected. Under the inspection of a seated eunuch, a bowman of the bodyguard supervised the building of a pontoon bridge. Inflated skins were tied together, beams connected them with the shore, an

¹ Lahiru is reached before Gananate and no mention is made of crossing the Turnat, therefore it must lie farther up stream and on the right bank. It is a question whether this is the Lahiru of Elam, e.g., Sargon, *Ann.*, 281.

² As the Assyrians proceeded from Lahiru to Gananate and then to Mt. Iasubi and Arman, they were obviously going east, and these places are to be located above and not below Me Turnat as Billerbeck, *Suleimania*, 50. The context shows Iasubi the country centering about Arman-Holwan, therefore it must be placed farther east than does Billerbeck, *loc. cit.* For Iashubu, Iasume, Iasupi, as a country in the letters, cf. H. 228; 245; 581. The parallel passage in the Bulls ins. 80, gives Halman for Arman, and so confirms Hommel's identification, *Gesch.*, p. 595, with Holwan. Note that this line has been omitted in Delitzsch's translation.

³ Weidner, *MVAG*, XX, 4, 4; Marduk bel ushe[zib], New Bab. Chron., King, *Chron.*, II, 65.

earthen causeway was heaped up on either side. The superstructure was formed of stones, brush, and clay, carried by soldiers with swords at their sides, ready to repel a sudden attack. The enemy were not far away, for the bowmen were still shooting in their direction. Once the chariot horses had been led across the shaky bridge, the Assyrians were under the walls of Ensudi,¹ a small double-walled fort with two gates, situated on a fair-sized artificial mound by a stream and in a country filled with trees. The king dismounted soon after crossing the pontoon bridge to receive Adini, the Dakuru chief, a tall beardless youth. His nobles followed, in long fringed robes, while the higher officials were brave with their long square Assyrian beards. Tribesmen, clad only in short skirts and in their bare feet, brought bars and pigs of various metals and large and small kettles to the edge of the stream, where they were transferred to two small flat-bottomed boats, laden with bales of goods, and steered by a rude oar while naked men dragged it along. Already a tray filled with ivories and the skin of a wild beast had been landed and was ready for presentation to the conqueror.

From his camp, Shalmaneser passed over another pontoon bridge and approached a town surrounded by double walls, each with two gates. This was the abode of Iakini, king of the Sea Lands, a man with pointed beard and long fringed robe. His present lack of importance was emphasized by his following of but two servants, one bearing a small kettle and leading two calves, the other with a jug and a lamb under his arm. No one might guess that he was to give his name to a land and a race, which was to furnish the most redoubtable opponents to the later empire until it had gone down in ruin before it. At the same time, Shalmaneser received tribute from the chief of the Amukanu, Mushallim Marduk.² A grant of land given at Babylon in the beginning of the second year of Marduk

¹ Maspero, *Hist.*, III, 74, n. 1, identifies with Qal'at Sa'id of the modern map, but Sa'id is too common a name to be decisive. Thompson, *Late Bab. Letters*, p. 74, shows troops of Bit Dakuru in Babylon, and in 222 the lady who complains of a theft of dates is ordered "Go, tell it to the Dakuru," that is, get it back from the Arabs who carried it off.

² A full account of the Babylonian expeditions in the extracts from the second edition of the *Annals* which are preserved in Balawat, IV, 1 ff.; cf. *MDOG*, XXXVI, 16; *Synchr. Hist.*, III, 22 ff. The Balawat Gate sculptures add many details. The form Ukani is given in Bulls 29, but Rasmussen seems to have detected sufficient traces of the first two syllables in the Balawat inscription to make sure that Amukani, the well-known later form, was read.

zakir shum shows the result of these expeditions. Uruk is now in his power, and one of its priestly hierarchy, Ibni Ishtar, the son of Hunzu'u, is given the house which had formerly belonged to Zabdiel, the "man" of Mushallim Marduk, the "son" of Amukanu. Doubtless this is to be connected in some way with punishment for Mushallim Marduk himself, but one of the witnesses is another "son" of Amukanu, Iddin Marduk, so that not all the tribe were in disgrace.¹

Marduk zakir shum paid his price for this southern extension of his kingdom. Ten years later, we find governors in the provinces of Ahi Suhina and Arrapha, south of the Lower Zab, a truly important addition to the territory administered directly by the Assyrians. In the year 834, "the great god went forth from the city of Der," and thus afforded full proof that the Assyrians considered themselves rightful rulers of northeast Babylonia.²

The death of Shalmaneser in 825 found Assyria in the throes of a great uprising, and the situation of Shamshi Adad was most precarious. His rebel brother, Ashur dan apal, had secured the aid of the Aramaeans,³ the only available resource for Shamshi Adad was Babylonia. Marduk zakir shum had not forgotten the humiliation of a few years back, and Shamshi Adad purchased his assistance only by a treaty of a still more humiliating nature. Akkad is placed before Ashur, Marduk zakir shum alone bears the title of king, the oaths are in the name of Babylonian gods, beginning with Marduk. Babylonian troops are promised, but at a price. "If Shamshi Adad hearkens to the wicked word of Marduk rimani, he shall say to the king 'Kill, destroy, make captive.' Marduk zakir shum, the king, hearkened to him. His land is not, our booty shall they bring back and give up, the fugitives shall be seized, the king will give judgment upon him. Whoso shall sin and take for himself the dues (*ilku*) which pertain not to him, may Marduk" and a long list of Babylonian gods "destroy his kingdom."⁴

For two years after his accession, Shamshi Adad was engaged in stamping out the last embers of revolt, then came the winning back

¹ Thureau-Dangin, *RA*, XVI, 117 ff.; lapislazuli Marduk, dedicated to Esagila, Koldewey, *Babylon*, p. 221.

² Assyri. Chron.; cf. Olmstead, *JAOS*, XXXIV, 344 ff.

³ H. 872, copy of letter "concerning the rebel" and written in Aramaic by Kabti, scribe of Ashur dan apal, cf. Johns, *Jour. Theol. Stud.*, VI, 630.

⁴ Peiser, *MVAG*, 1908, 6, 14 ff.

of the provinces, and it was not until June of 821 that he was ready to test the validity of oaths extorted by force of necessity. Marduk zakir shum had just died and his son, Marduk balatsu iqbi, had taken his place.¹ The Babylonian frontier was now at Zaddi,² but a short distance south of the Lower Zab. The direct route into Babylonia was therefore blocked by enemy garrisons, but the road farther east along the mountain slopes was passable and afforded an opportunity of outflanking the enemy. Pausing only long enough to kill three lions on Mount Ebih,³ Shamshi Adad crossed the range and occupied Me Turnat. The inhabitants, with their goods and gods, were carried off to be reckoned Assyrian citizens, our earliest certain example of deportation. The passage of the river at its flood brought the army to Qarne⁴ and the crossing of the Ialman Mountains to Dibina, Datebir, and Izduia, cities near Gananate. With these went four hundred other "cities" whose size we can conjecture when we note that, all told, they mustered just three hundred and thirty warriors! When the inhabitants saw the Assyrians destroying their palm groves, they fled to Kiribti alani, which was soon added to the list of captured towns. The Babylonian forces retired to the royal city of Dur Papsukal,⁵ which lay on an island in the midst of the stream and so seemed a city of refuge to the four hundred and forty-seven cities placed on the map by the official "eye witness" of Shamshi Adad. Nevertheless, the Assyrians succeeded in capturing it, with a loss to the defenders estimated at thirteen thousand killed and three thousand prisoners. The resistance was vigorous, if we may accept the relative proportions in the casualties. The royal bed and the other palace furniture came into the possession of the Assyrians and so well satisfied was Shamshi Adad that he handed

¹ VS, I, 35, shows eleven years' rule for Marduk zakir shum; Marduk balatsu iqbi appears as crown prince in the kudurru of year II (850), Thureau-Dangin, *RA*, XVII, 117 ff. The New Babylonian Chronicle, King, *Chron.*, II, 65, reads "Against Marduk balatsu [iqbi] Marduk zakir shum."

² Shamshi Adad, *Ann.*, II, 10.

³ In Broken Obl., IV, 15, Ebih is a mountain of Assyria where Tiglath Pileser hunted in the winter; Delitzsch, *Paradies*, 204, connects with the god Ebih, III R, 66, I, 15 b; II, 4 f., 33b.

⁴ Since Qarne is between the Turnat River and Ialman, the Hamrin Hills, which are here close together, it must be exactly located at Qzyyl Robat.

⁵ With Billerbeck, *Suleimania*, 69, we must place Dur Papsukal more or less about Ba'quba.

the ordinary booty over to the common soldiers. Too late Marduk balatsu iqbi arrived at the scene with a relieving army, collected from the neighborhood, Chaldaeans, Aramaeans, Elamites, Hamrians, and took up his position on the river Daban at the entrance to Dur Papsukal. Here again Shamshi Adad claims the victory, describes the five thousand dead and the two thousand captive from the enemy, the hundred chariots, the two hundred cavalry, the royal tent and the bed—and then the narrative abruptly closes and we greatly deplore the lack of the Babylonian account to tell us what happened next.¹

That all was not as Shamshi Adad would have us believe is made evident by the careful avoidance of Babylonia in the years immediately following. Renewed interest in the Babylonian problem began in 815 when the "Great God" went to Der; two years later, the land of the Chaldaeans was the object of Shamshi Adad's attention, and in 812 Babylon. The last campaign was fatal to Shamshi Adad.²

About the time that Marduk balatsu iqbi was succeeded in Babylonia by Bau ahe iddina, Adad nirari came into his own and began to look with longing eyes upon Babylonia, to which he had a more or less valid claim through the Babylonian birth of his mother Sammuramat, the prototype of the fabled Semiramis. Already in 796 and 795 we have expeditions against Der, but no serious attack was made until 786.³ It was a matter of little difficulty to carry off Bau ahe iddina to an Assyrian captivity, and with him went all the treasures of his palace and the spoil of Der, Lahiru, Gananate, Dur Papsukal, Bit Riduti, and Me Turnat. More impressive was the spoil of gods, the "Great God" who went in procession to Der, Humhummu, Belit of Babylon, Belit of Akkad, Shimalia, Nergal, Annunitum, Mar biti of the city of Malki, all went forth into captivity. Thence Adad nirari continued to Kutu, Babylon, and Borsippa, where he made the pure offerings of a sovereign prince and the cities "supported the decrees of Bel, Nabu, and Nergal."⁴ The kings of the Chaldaean land were devastating the settled country; their forays were checked for the time being by the strict measures

¹ Shamshi Adad, *Ann.*, III, 70 ff.; cf. *Synchr. Hist.*, III, 42 ff.

² *Assyr. Chron.*

³ *Assyr. Chron.*

⁴ Kalah Slab, 23 f.

taken by the Assyrians, the infliction of a regular tribute, and the surrender of the citizens they had enslaved. The men of Assyria were allied with those of Kar Duniash and a new boundary was delimited.¹ The next year, the "Great God" went in due state to Der.²

Two kings, Marduk bel (usate?) and Marduk apal (iddina?),³ seem to have been dependent upon the Assyrians.⁴ Perhaps they belong in the period where we have Ashur dan listing expeditions against Gananate in 771 and in 767.⁵ For two years there was no king in the land and then Erba Marduk, the son of Marduk shakin shum, seized the hand of Bel and of the son of Bel and thus became rightful king in Babylon. In his reign, the Aramaeans in Shigiltu and Subartu settled in the fields belonging to the citizens of Babylon and Borsippa, a sad witness to the weakness of the government when even the suburbs of the capital were not safe, but Erba Marduk defeated them and gave the lands back to their rightful owners.⁶

The second Nabu shum ishkun (760-747) brings us back to history with two documents which afford an instructive view of the prevailing disorders. One is a grant of sustenance by Nana and Mar biti from the revenues of Ezida in Borsippa. The individual thus favored bears a Nabu name even as does the king under whom the grant is made, but the fact that Nabu mutakkil is called a "son" of Ashur, that is, he is an Assyrian, awakens suspicions which are not quieted when we find the list of witnesses headed by Nabu shum imbi, likewise a "son" of Ashur, though he is *erib biti* of Nabu and *shakin temi* of Borsippa, and including Nabu ushabshi, "son" of Ashur, *erib biti* of Nabu, Nabu useppi, "son" of Ashur, priest of Adad, and a homonym of the king, Nabu shum ishkun, "son" of Ashur, *erib biti* of Nabu. The presence of so many Assyrians in the "priestly college" of Nabu in Borsippa proves without doubt a considerable amount of Assyrianization, however we may explain it in detail.⁷

¹ Synchron. Hist., IV, 1 ff.

² Assyrian Chron.

³ Weidner, *MVAG*, XX, 4, 5.

⁴ Lehmann-Haupt, *Klio*, XVI, 184.

⁵ Assyrian Chron.

⁶ King, *Chron.*, II, 66 f., cf. the duck weight, Norris, *JRAS*, XVI, Winckler, *Untersuch.*, 32.

⁷ VS, I, 36; Scheil, *RT*, XX, 205 ff.; Thureau-Dangin, *RA*, XVI, 141; tablet of year XIII, Clay, *Business Transactions*, No. 3.

In the other, Nabu shum ishkun is called "son of Dakuru" which means that the roving Aramaean tribe of less than a century ago now has its chieftain on the throne of the ancient city. His rule can have been merely nominal, for the writer is the same Assyrian Nabu shum imbi who heads the sacred college in the preceding inscription. Here he is *nisakku*, *erib biti* of Nabu, and mayor of the city of Borsippa. He "fears the great godhead" of Nabu and stands before him, he rebuilds Nabu's temple of Ezida as any king of old, and we sense the royal formula under the statement "which from ancient days, before my time, no *nindatub* or *qepu* had undertaken." Nabu shum imbi is king of his little state in all but name.

Before he could finish the work which had been ordered him by Nabu, lord of lands—and here we fairly gasp for this appellation belongs of right alone to Marduk, lord of the suzerain Babylon—there arose a state of anarchy. The men of Babylon, Borsippa, Dushulti on the banks of the Euphrates, the Chaldeans, the Aramaeans, the men of Dilbat, for long contended with one another. The men of Borsippa saw their lands devastated in this civil strife. Then up rose Nabu shum iddina, whose father Dannu Nabu had once held that office of *erib biti* which Nabu shum imbi had usurped, and asserted his ancestral claim. The heart of Borsippa, the Ezida temple, fell into his hands, whereupon he assailed the house of Nabu shum imbi by night. The only defense known to Nabu shum imbi was prayer to Nabu, but the citizens of Borsippa were more warlike. All night long they stood with their bows and lances about the house and in the morning Nabu shum imbi was safe and ready to ascribe his salvation to the city god.¹

The year 747 marks the beginning of a new era, that of Nabu nasir. The native Chronicle and the so-called Ptolemaic Canon of Rulers alike date their commencement from his reign, though the reason is unknown. The next year saw the enthronement in Assyria of Tiglath Pileser IV, whose support against the tribesmen and the rulers of the cities round about Nabu nasir was only too glad to purchase by submission, could but the shadow of rule be saved for himself. So it was with the alluring prospect of being welcomed as a deliverer by the propertied classes that Tiglath Pileser set forth upon

¹ Winckler, *Forsch.*, I, 254 ff.

the enterprise which was to inaugurate his reign with cheaply bought laurels.¹

A few days' march east of the Tigris brought the Assyrians to the first Aramaean outpost, Til Kamri, which men call Humut, where there had come together a great coalition of tribesmen, the Itu, Rubu, Hindiru, Rua, the Hamrani who gave their name to the modern Hamrin Hills, on the southern border of Assyria, the Nabatu, ancestors of the Nabataeans of Roman days, the Kipre, from whom was to be called one of the most important centers in present times, the Bagdadu or men of Baghdad, the Ubulu, long after connected with the great Arab city which preceded Basra, the Hagaranu or children of Hagar, and many a tribe of less significance.² The river which protected the allied front was crossed on rafts and a huge quantity of cattle fell into the hands of the conquerors. News of the victory soon reached Babylon, whereupon Nabu nasir ordered one of his subordinates, the *erib biti* of Esagila and Ezida, to present the ceremonial gifts from Bel, Nabu, and Nergal to their new representative. Tiglath Pileser decorated the embassy and sent them home to herald the royal approach.

The first opportunity was seized to make it apparent that a new policy was to obtain in the administration of dependent states. Over against the rebel city of Til Kamri, an entirely new settlement was established, Assyrian from foundation to coping, Kar Ashur, the Wall of Ashur. A palace was constructed within, the cult of Ashur was ordained, and a little later it was garrisoned by the "men of the lands, the booty of my hands," thereafter to be considered native Assyrians subject to tax and gift.

The triumphal march continued through north Babylonia. All the old-time centers, Sippar, Kutu, Kish, and Babylon, opened their doors, and their Assyrian savior offered his ritually pure sacrifices and set up his dedications in these "cities without parallel." There yet remained the eastern border, along the banks of the Surappu and Uknu rivers to the seacoast, where the Aramaeans had collected in force; the whole of the settlements were reduced and

¹ For detailed sketch of the reign, cf. A. S. Anspacher, *Tiglath Pileser III*, 1912.

² Other tribes were Luhuatu, Harilu, Rubbu, Rapiqu, Hiranu, Rabilu, Nasiru, Gulusu, Rahiqu, Ka . . . , Rummulushu, Adile, Ubulu, Gurumu, Damunu, Dunanu, Nilqu, Rade, Da . . . , Karma', Amlatu, Qabi', Li'tau, Marusu, Amatu.

the natives "made to use one tongue." Five administrative districts were formed, to be attached to the provinces of the turtanu, the chamberlain, the chief musician, and the governors of Barhazia and Mazamua, respectively. As indemnity, the natives were ordered to surrender a tenth of their cattle, ten talents of gold by the greater standard, and a thousand talents of silver. For capital of this newly incorporated territory, he founded another city, Dur Tukulti apal esharra, and the captives settled in his "Wall" were commanded to worship the royal image which his lord Ashur had ordered him to set up "as a sign of victory and might" at the same time they paid their due to that lord himself. Operations came to an end with visits to Nippur and Uruk where the gods were likewise thanked for this triumphal inauguration of the reign.¹

Until the close of his reign, Tiglath Pileser left Babylonia to its own devices. Nabu nasir remained the nominal ruler, and in far-away Uruk men dated by his fifth year as they restored an ancient festival whose very name had been forgotten and the lines of the edifices concerned were likewise no longer remembered. King, resident, and noble alike promised aid, and so the lady Usur amatsu enjoyed a new abode.² How little Nabu nasir excelled his predecessors in power is rather indicated by the fact that Borsippa again separated herself from her suzerain and became an independent city state within sight of her former mistress. Nabu nasir was not content to allow Borsippa to go by default, but the result of his effort is not known, for, as the author of the Babylonian Chronicle sadly confesses, "the battle which Nabu nasir waged against Borsippa is not recorded."³

Fourteen years did Nabu nasir rule, in quiet if not with power. Presently he fell sick and died in his palace, and his place was filled by his son, Nabu nadin zer (733). His reign was brought to a sudden close by a revolt, led by the provincial governor, Nabu

¹ Tiglath Pileser, *Ann.*, 1 ff.; *Clay Ins.*, 5 ff.; Slab, 4 ff. The Bab. Chron., I, 3 ff., gives the plunder of Rabbilu and Hamranu and the captivity of the gods of the city of Shapazza. For the date 745, cf. *Assyr. Chron.* For location of Dur Tukulti apal esharra at Eski Kifri, cf. Olmstead, *J A O S*, XXXVIII, 234 n.

² Nies-Keiser, *Bab. Ins.*, II, No. 33.

³ Bab. Chron., I, 6 ff.

shum ukin.¹ After a little more than a month, he too was destroyed, and the Ninth Dynasty came to an inglorious end (732).

The new pretender was a chief of the Amukanu tribe, Nabu mukinzer, or, as he was more commonly called, Ukinzer. As such, he was definitely Aramaean, and there is considerable significance in the fact that from his reign we have the first use of Aramaic as an explanatory note to the cuneiform Babylonian which was still the one legal language in which business transactions could be witnessed.² Already Shalmaneser III had known the menace of the Amukanu and there was serious danger to Assyria in a Babylonia united under a strong, half-savage ruler. So in 731 the Assyrian armies were once more marching along the old route east of the Tigris. The Puqudu, the most important tribe of this section, were cast down as with a net, then was taken Lahiru of Idibirina, the form into which the Aramaeans had corrupted the older Iatbur, as well as Hilimmu and Pillutu along the Elamite frontier. The province of Arrapha was the chief beneficiary of these new acquisitions. The Lubdudu were deported to Assyria, and the Chaldaean land, throughout its whole extent, was overthrown as with a bird net. Nabu ushabshi, the son of Shilani, met defeat under the walls of his capital, and was impaled before the city gate. Sarababanu was won by means of earthworks and battering rams, fifty-five thousand of its inhabitants were taken prisoners—did this town of half-nomads in reality have one-tenth that number?—and the surrounding cities were reduced to plowland. Similar treatment was meted out to the cities of Tarbasu and Iaballa, with their thirty thousand captives. Zaqiru, the son of Shaalli, was a more serious offender, for he had violated the "oath of the great gods," wherefore he and his nobles were carried in chains to Assyria, there to await more terrible punishment. Their fortress was stormed with mines and rams and razed to the ground. The number of captives is given as 50,400, and experience with cases where we have variants justifies us in believing that the actual number was four hundred, which is not

¹ So Bab. Chron.; the King lists make him the son of his predecessor. King, *Chron.*, II, 64, indicates relations with Tiglath Pileser, but this is an error for Tukulti Ninib, cf. above.

² Clay, *Business Transactions*, No. 22.

much more than we should expect. Amlilatu, their chief city, fell an easy prey, and the land of Bit Shaalli was devastated as by the hurricane.

All this was preliminary to an attack upon the *de facto* king of Babylon, Ukinzer, now confined within his royal city of Sapea. The first skirmish was won by the invaders, and the palms in the level country round about were cut down and the ripe fruit scattered over the field. But the victory was not decisive and the siege dragged on. While encamped before Sapea, there arrived embassies of unusual interest, though for quite different reasons. One came from Balasu, chief of the Dakkuri, and though he was not, like his ancestor, counted a king of Babylon, he was destined, as Belesys, the Chaldaean priest who assisted the Median Arbaces to overthrow the first Assyrian empire, to a long immortality among those who read Greek.¹

Along with this insignificant prototype of the classical hero came Nadinu, another Aramaean who had settled at Larak, an old city on the Lower Tigris, abandoned for so many centuries that its ruined mound was in popular fancy supposed to represent a city which dated from before the days of the great flood. Much more important in actual history was Marduk apal iddina, the "son" of that Iakin who had paid tribute to Shalmaneser III, the king of the Sea Lands, who had never come before any of the kings his fathers (!) and kissed their feet, for he was the Merodach-baladan of our sacred books and the future king of Babylon. His exceptional position was well shown by his tribute, gold, the "dust of his land," golden vessels and necklaces, precious stones, the product of the seas, probably the pearls for which in every age the Persian Gulf has been famous, beams of ebony and *ellutu* wood, colored cloths, spices, live stock, we know that no petty chieftain could possess such wealth. The very recital of the "tribute" shows how much stronger was Merodach-baladan than Tiglath Pileser would admit; it was too magnificent for any but quasi-royal personages, and it may be that Merodach-baladan looked upon them as gifts from equal to equal.²

¹ Ctesias, in *Diod.*, II, 24.

² Tablet, 13 ff.

The siege of Sapea was prolonged into the fourth year when Ukinzer's reign came to an end with his life. Tiglath Pileser thereupon came to a momentous decision, nothing less than the personal assumption of the crown of Babylon. The reasons for so doing were strong, the objections equally so.¹ On the first of Nisan, 729, he seized the hands of Bel and became king of Babylon in name as in fact. Whether to save the tender sensibilities of the Babylonians or because it was his own name before his accession, he was known to them as Pulu, whence has come the Pul of our Book of Kings.² A second time he seized the hands of Bel and then he died.³ His son, Shalmaneser V, followed the Babylonian policy of his father and was known in Babylon as Ululu, the "man born in September." Once more patriots might delude themselves into believing that they were governed by a native prince.⁴

¹ For fuller discussion of these points, cf. Olmstead, "Assyrian Government of Dependencies," *Amer. Political Science Rev.*, XII, 73 ff.

² Bab. Chron., I, 23; II Kings 15:19.

³ Reference to his coming to Babylon, in the letter K. 4740; Winckler, *Forsch.*, II, 24 ff.; business document of 5-11-1, Thureau-Dangin, *RA*, VI, 136. Assy. Chron. says "in the land" for 730, but the capture of Ukinzer must come before the seizing of Bel's hand, 729, so Sapea must have been taken in 730.

⁴ The reign of Sargon has been elaborately discussed by Olmstead, *Western Asia in the Days of Sargon of Assyria*, 1908. In spite of the lapse of twelve years, practically nothing is to be added to the narrative of the Babylonian events. The excavations at Babylon have given little, only the statement that Sargon founded Imgur Bel and Nimitti Bel, the two great city walls of Babylon, and traces of the walls have actually been found which seem to date from his period, Koldewey, *Babylon*, 138. Two matters of topography may also deserve discussion. Objection was made, *Sargon*, 143 n., to the identification of Dur Iakin with Dorak. In reality, it is ad Dawraq, i.e., with q; the article shows it was understood as an Arabic word, a sort of water jar. It is found in Yaqut, s.v. and existed as late as 1701, Murteda Nazmi Zade, quoted Huart, *Baghdad*, 140, cf. 144. Sayce, *Expository Times*, XVIII, 234, makes Tilmun the part of Arabia southwest of Babylon, and Uperi a blunder of the scribe for the place Ophir. I find it difficult to disassociate Tylos and Tilmun-Tilwum. His interpretation of *Ann.* XIV, 25 f., as meaning that Bit Iakin extended to Tilmun is certainly an error of exegesis. What the scribe means to say is "I conquered from Cyprus to the Mediterranean, including all the lands from one end of the civilized world to the other, from Egypt, the extreme point on one side of the land, to Bit Iakin, on the other, even as far as Tilmun, which, the point most opposed to Cyprus, also lies in the sea."